Chapter 4

The Fading of City-Suburb and Metro-Nonmetro Distinctions in the United States

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In the USA and other developed countries, a strong correspondence once existed between metropolitan morphology, demographic changes, and population characteristics associated with the twin distinctions between central city and suburb within metropolitan areas and between metropolitan and nonmetro areas (Frey and Speare, 1988; Fuguitt *et al.*, 1989). This correspondence served to validate the use of metropolitan areas and subareas in both academic and policy analyses which used this classification as an underlying paradigm for assessing spatial demographic issues (e.g. policies targeted to city or rural poverty, suburban homeownership for minority populations, public transportation to permit 'reverse commuting' of city residents without cars to suburban jobs). Indeed, when the basis for the current US metropolitan definition was formulated in the late 1940s, there was a high degree of correspondence between a region's labor market area, its housing market area and local activity space. This area also tended to take on a common physical form where a highly dense core area served both integrative and distributive functions for a less dense, largely residential hinterland.

It is the contention of this chapter, however, that these synergies between function, form, and demographic attributes no longer hold, for three reasons. First, changes in transportation, communication, production technologies and the organization of production, as well as nationwide industrial shifts, have led to a decoupling of these functional and physical spaces. The expansion of existing areas and creation of new areas in a low density mode have led to a diversity of physical configurations for the daily activity space of community residents, including areas that have no discernible cores. As a consequence, the city-suburb distinction cannot be defined in a clearcut manner, and the populations within each of these two categories have become increasingly heterogeneous. Second, since the original

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metropolitan concept was defined in the late 1940s, the country's rural territory has become more strongly integrated into the national economy. Some portions of this nonmetro space have become closely tied to specific metropolitan areas, while others stand relatively isolated from metropolitan influence. Nonmetro areas that are attractive to retirees and exurbanites have grown and taken on demographic attributes different from those of declining nonmetro areas that have lost workforces associated with their earlier agricultural, manufacturing, and mining economic bases. Third, the classic role of central cities as destinations for immigrants and rural-urban migrants, who later move to the suburbs, is much less relevant today for a large number of metro areas, as entire metro areas are serving distinctly different roles as receivers of immigrants or domestic migrants.

This chapter documents the changing demographic dynamics and characteristics of US metropolitan areas and subareas, and how they no longer conform to the patterns that existed when these metro categories were originally developed. It begins with an account of how the new 'South to North' immigration to selected port-of-entry metros is changing the context for metropolitan population dynamics by creating distinctions between different types of metro areas based on their metropolitanwide migration dynamics. There follows a discussion of the changing demographic distinctions emerging within metro areas, and how they are rendering the city-suburb distinction obsolete as a means of classifying demographically distinct populations. Next, the changing demographic characteristics of metropolitan and nonmetro areas are examined in the context of the national settlement system and in light of the varied economic functions of nonmetro areas. The final section summarizes these shifts and discusses their implications for metropolitan classifications as a means of identifying areas with similar demographic dynamics and characteristics.

Distinguishing Metro Areas by Immigration and Domestic Migration

An important new demographic dynamic affecting metropolitan populations is the tendency for immigrant flows and domestic migration flows to dominate growth in different metro areas and regions. Like many other developed countries, the US has begun to experience a significant 'South to North' immigration. The destinations of these immigrants are very unevenly distributed, being concentrated primarily in large port-of-entry metro areas. Many of these areas are losing domestic migrants who are more likely to relocate in faster-growing, but smaller, metro areas, as well as in nonmetro territory. Because the immigrant flows tend to have younger age structures and higher fertility levels than the US native population, the 'port-of-entry' areas are becoming demographically distinct from the parts of the urban system that are attracting mostly domestic migrants. In the US, 'South-to-North' migration is thus impacting settlement systems in ways that further isolate immigrant groups from longstanding residents.

While immigration to the US has always been high, it has changed in both magnitude and character as the result of revisions in immigration legislation in the mid-1960s which were further modified in 1986 and in 1990 (Martin and Midgley,

1994). The increasing number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia has tended to accentuate their concentration into port-of-entry areas where there are like race-ethnic and nationality populations who can provide social and economic support as well as information about employment in the informal economy. The most recent immigrant cohorts tend to comprise a disproportionate number of labor force aged persons with at most high school educations who are best suited for lower-level service kinds of employment (Briggs, 1992). The port-of-entry cities, in their turn, tend to be characterized by a net migration loss of domestic migrants (Champion, 1994) who relocate to other types of growing metro areas. A number of explanations for this phenomenon have been put forward (Frey, 1996).

A Metropolitan Area Typology

The emergence of distinctive destinations for immigrants and domestic migrants can be seen in the typology of metropolitan areas[2] presented in Table 4.1. The nine with the largest net gain of international migration in 1990-1999, termed High Immigration metros, are sustaining all or most of their migration-related growth from immigration rather than from domestic migration. These are quite distinct from the metros classed as High Domestic Migration – those with the highest gains on domestic migration – and High Outmigration – those with the largest domestic losses – as their internal migration balance is greater than that of international migration. High Domestic Migration metros such as Atlanta, Seattle, Raleigh-Durham, and Charlotte are among the fast-rising national or regional 'command and control' corporate or banking centers with significant advanced service components to their economies. Also on this list are places like Las Vegas,

[2] First used in the 1950 census, the metropolitan area in the US is a functionally-based concept designed to approximate a socially and economically integrated community. As originally defined, individual metropolitan areas included a central city nucleus with a population of at least 50,000 along with adjacent counties (or towns in the New England states) that were economically and socially integrated with that nucleus, as determined by commuting data, population density, and measures of economic activity. Since that time it has been commonplace to make a distinction between the 'central city' and 'suburban' (or residual) portions of the metropolitan area. While most of the US's present metropolitan areas can still be characterized by this concept, minor modifications to the definition have been implemented to account for special cases and more complex urbanization patterns. Current metropolitan areas are designated as Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA), stand-alone areas; or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs), combinations of smaller metropolitan units (Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas) which show commuting relationships with other such units. In 2000, there were 280 metropolitan areas (MSAs and CMSAs) which housed approximately 80 per cent of the US population; the residual 20 per cent was defined as 'nonmetropolitan'. The present analysis will follow the conventional definitions of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan with one minor exception. In the six New England states, where metropolitan definitions based on towns preclude the availability of some population data, county-based New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs) are used. See Chapter 18 for further details of the US approach to metropolitan classification.

Phoenix, and Orlando – noted retirement and recreation centers which are also attracting an increasing working-age population lured by new job growth in these areas. At the other extreme, Detroit, Cleveland, and other High Outmigration metros are losing internal migrants due to more sluggish economies.

Table 4.1 Metropolitan areas classed by international and domestic migration contributions to population change, 1990-1999

Metropolitan categories/ rank		Contribution to 1990-1999 change Net international migration	Net domestic migration
High Immigration			
1	New York	1,408,543	-1,913,850
2	Los Angeles	1,257,925	-1,589,222
3	San Francisco	494,189	-373,187
4	Miami	420,488	-84,884
5	Chicago	363,662	-516,854
6	Washington DC	267,175	-172,425
7	Houston	214,262	85,537
8	Dallas	173,500	235,611
9	San Diego	159,691	-139,649
High Domestic Migration			
1	Atlanta	81,037	498,283
2	Phoenix	60,800	396,092
3	Las Vegas	35,506	394,331
4	Dallas	173,500	235,611
5	Denver	50,089	200,658
6	Portland	55,583	198,896
7	Austin	27,114	168,817
8	Orlando	44,244	167,120
9	Tampa	42,088	157,209
10	Charlotte	14,719	154,320
11	Raleigh	16,269	154,049
12	Seattle	90,492	153,946
High Outmigration			
1	Philadelphia	106,951	-269,874
2	Detroit	76,185	-238,994
3	Boston	137,634	-199,506
4	Cleveland	19,705	-103,945
5	Buffalo	8,927	-82,174
6	Hartford	24,028	-79,177
7	Pittsburgh	8,681	-73,980
8	St. Louis	24,828	-71,014
9	Milwaukee	11,883	-70,223
10	New Orleans	14,128	-70,036

Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined by OMB in June 2000; names are abbreviated. See text for definition of categories.

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Estimates Censuses.

In contrast to these two categories, the High Immigration metros are distinct in a number of respects. First, most of them can be thought of as either global cities or national corporate headquarters and trade centers. Not only do they attract large numbers of immigrants from Latin America and Asia, but they are also centers of finance and corporate decisionmaking at a national or worldwide level. Second, it is plain that there is a strong net outmigration of domestic migrants from most of these areas and especially from those that are among the largest 'world cities'. This suggests that these areas are taking on a dual-city character (Sassen, 1991; Waldinger, 1996) in that their economic and labor force structures will become highly bifurcated between mostly well-off native-born professionals and lower-level service workers comprised largely of immigrants.

Although the metros in each category have somewhat distinct patterns, there is some overlap. Dallas appears on both High Immigration and High Domestic Migration metro lists, drawing on both sources because of the strength of the Texas economy in the 1990s and its continued attraction for migrants from Mexico and elsewhere. Secondly, two High Outmigration metros, Philadelphia and Boston, show modestly high levels of immigration which serve to cushion the effects of high net domestic outmigration. Finally, evidence from the 2000 Census suggests some dispersal of the foreign-born population to several of the High Domestic Migration metros, likely due to the employment opportunities generated in low skilled retail, service and construction industries (Frey, 2002). Among the metro areas showing greatest 1990-2000 increases in foreign-born shares are Las Vegas, Dallas, Phoenix, Atlanta, Raleigh-Durham and Denver.

The metros in each category tend to have distinct regional locations. High Domestic Migration metros are located in the South and the West regions, whereas the High Outmigration ones are located primarily in the North, New Orleans being the exception. This reflects the greater generation of employment in the 'Sunbelt' (South and West) regions than the more heavily industrialized 'Rustbelt' (North) zone, which has characterized the nation's redistribution shifts for several decades. High Immigration metros are located in each of the nation's major regions, but most are located in coastal states that have served historic roles as immigrant entry points. The role of 'chain migration', along with continued establishment of race and ethnic communities in these areas, allowed them to draw international migrants during periods, such as the 1990s, when most of the domestic migrants moved to more economically robust areas.

Race-Ethnic and Age Distinctions

The selective immigration and domestic migration patterns are shaping distinct demographies across these three types of metro areas. Table 4.2 shows that, with a few exceptions, High Immigration metros have a larger percentage of Hispanics and Asians than those in the other two categories. Aside from Washington DC and Chicago, Hispanics and Asians account for over one-quarter of the populations in each of these areas, and fully one-half in the case of Los Angeles. Moreover, consistent with the domestic migration patterns observed in Table 4.1, these metros

show declines in their combined white and black populations, with six out of nine down by 9 percentage points or more.

Table 4.2 2000 race-ethnic and age characteristics, and 1990-2000 changes for categories of large metro areas

Metropolitan categories/ rank		% Hispanics and Asians		% Whites and Blacks		% Aged Under 18		% Aged 65 and Over	
		2000	Change	2000	Change	2000	Change	2000	Change
High Immigration									
1	New York	25.0	5.9	72.4	-8.2	24.7	1.7	12.7	-0.5
2	Los Angeles	50.9	9.2	46.3	-11.4	28.5	1.9	9.9	0.1
3	San Francisco	38.6	8.8	57.7	-11.9	23.6	0.6	11.1	0.1
4	Miami	42.1	7.6	55.7	-9.5	24.3	1.6	14.5	-2.2
5	Chicago	20.6	6.7	77.8	-8.1	26.9	0.8	10.9	-0.5
6	Washington DC	11.7	4.2	86.0	-6.2	25.3	1.4	10.1	0.3
7	Houston	33.8	9.6	64.6	-10.8	29.0	0.2	7.7	0.4
8	Dallas	25.3	9.9	72.9	-11.2	28.0	0.8	8.1	-0.3
9	San Diego	35.9	8.1	60.5	-10.9	25.7	1.3	11.2	0.2
High Domestic Migration									
1	Atlanta	9.9	6.2	88.5	-7.6	26.6	0.7	7.6	-0.5
2	Phoenix	27.3	8.8	69.3	-10.2	26.8	0.5	11.9	-0.6
3	Las Vegas	25.8	12.4	70.9	-14.6	25.3	1.0	11.8	0.2
4	Dallas	25.3	9.9	72.9	-11.2	28.0	0.8	8.1	-0.3
5	Denver	21.4	6.4	76.3	-8.1	25.7	-0.1	8.9	-0.3
6	Portland	13.1	6.0	83.4	-8.6	25.7	-0.1	10.7	-1.7
7	Austin	29.8	6.7	68.4	-8.1	25.4	-0.2	7.3	-0.5
8	Orlando	19.3	9.4	78.4	-11.4	24.8	1.0	12.4	-0.5
9	Tampa	12.3	4.5	85.9	-6.0	21.9	1.5	19.2	-2.4
10	Charlotte	7.1	5.2	91.6	-6.2	25.4	0.7	10.2	-0.7
11	Raleigh	9.0	6.1	89.4	-7.5	24.2	1.5	8.6	-0.9
12	Seattle	13.7	4.8	81.6	-8.3	24.8	-0.2	10.3	-0.4
High Outmigration									
1	Philadelphia	8.9	3.1	89.6	-4.4	25.3	1.0	13.5	0.0
2	Detroit	5.2	1.8	92.5	-3.6	26.4	0.3	11.7	0.2
3	Boston	9.9	3.3	87.6	-5.3	24.0	1.3	12.7	-0.1
4	Cleveland	4.1	1.2	94.4	-2.5	25.3	0.3	14.3	0.3
5	Buffalo	4.2	1.3	94.0	-2.4	24.3	0.8	15.8	0.6
6	Hartford	11.7	3.3	86.5	-4.9	24.2	1.7	14.0	0.6
7	Pittsburgh	1.9	0.6	97.1	-1.5	22.3	0.2	17.7	0.6
8	St. Louis	3.0	1.0	95.6	-2.2	26.3	0.0	12.9	0.1
9	Milwaukee	8.4	3.5	89.8	-4.6	26.5	0.0	12.5	0.1
10	New Orleans	6.5	0.7	92.0	-1.9	26.8	-1.3	11.4	0.4

Change is percentage point change since 1990.

Source: Author's analysis of 1990 and 2000 US decennial census data.

Still, there is a surprisingly large Hispanic presence in several High Domestic Migration metros. This is evident in Phoenix, Las Vegas and Orlando, which each increased their Hispanic and Asian share by over 8 percentage points in the 1990s. These three also saw their combined white and black shares fall by over 10 per cent. High Outmigration metros tend to have smaller Hispanic/Asian percentages, and 1990-2000 increases are less than in other metro categories. These metro areas are at least 85 per cent white and black in their race-ethnic composition.

Age comparisons are somewhat less distinct across these three categories. High Outmigration Migration metros have lower shares of their populations under 18 and higher shares over age 65 than the other two, while High Immigration metros tend to have the youngest age structures. Among all of the metros listed in Table 4.2, three High Immigration metros – Los Angeles, Houston, and Dallas – lead the rest, with more than 28 per cent of their populations under 18. High Domestic Migration metros also exhibit relatively young age structures, although, in some cases, this is moderated by the aging of their large middle-aged baby boom populations (Frey, 2001b).

In sum, distinct demographic processes are at work for the three categories of metros. High Immigration metros dominate with respect to attracting immigrants, and in their concentration of Hispanic and Asian immigrant minority groups. These metros will also become more distinct in terms of their socioeconomic attributes as well, displaying more bipolar distributions on income and employment attributes (Frey, 1996).

The Fading of Demographic Distinctions between Central City and Suburb

The new migration processes that are shaping these *metropolitan-level* changes overlay significant morphological and demographic dynamics that have affected *internal* shifts within individual metro areas. These changes are rendering the city-suburb dichotomy obsolete as an indicator of distinctly different demographic attributes. The 'suburbs', especially, have become much less homogeneous, serving to support our contention that the latter dichotomy is fading.

The Outward Spread of Population and Jobs

Over the last three decades of the twentieth century, the expansion of metropolitan population was the result of the continued lateral spread of population into new territory around existing metro areas, together with the establishment of new metro areas in less densely populated parts of the country (Long and DeAre, 1988). From 1970, too, employment deconcentration grew in pace and widened in scope. It was during the 1970s that the balance of metropolitan jobs shifted from the central city to the suburbs in many older metro areas. Also then, for the first time, nonmanufacturing jobs suburbanized faster than manufacturing jobs in these older areas (Frey and Speare, 1988). These included many white-collar office and service-industry jobs, heralding the beginning of the 'suburban office boom' (Cervero, 1986).

Hartshorn and Muller (1986) characterized the 1970-80 decade as a period of 'catalytic growth' for suburban dowing the pre-1960 'bedroom community' and 1960-70 'independence' stages). During this stage, suburban employment clustered in various types of places classed as: suburban freeway corridors, retail strip corridors, high-technology corridors, regional mall centers, diversified office centers, large-scale mixed use centers, old town centers, and suburban specialty centers. Although there had been some development of regional

shopping centers, industrial parks and office parks in the 1960s, the widespread growth of these suburban employment sites accelerated during the 1970s. Stanback (1991) contends that these suburban employment changes are associated with a new era of metropolitan economic development wherein suburban employment centers have begun to compete with historical central cities and are becoming more independent.

Two investigations of suburban employment patterns suggest that local labor markets can be recognized within the broad expanse of suburbia. Cervero (1989) identified 57 Suburban Employment Centers (SECs), each of which had more than one million square feet of office floor space and two thousand or more workers and was located more than five miles from the historic CBD. Areas with the greatest concentrations of jobs were classed as 'office growth corridors', 'subcities' and 'large mixed-use developments', with an average of 234,000, 33,500 and 27,500 jobs, respectively. Secondly, Garreau (1991), who labels his suburban centers 'edge cities', found 203 such areas within the boundaries of 36 major metros. These are characterized by more than 5 million square feet of leasable office space, more than 600,000 square feet of retail space and a high employment/population ratio. They are also perceived locally as a single-end destination for mixed use (jobs, shopping, entertainment) and over the last 30 years have transformed from residential or rural in nature to mixed use.

Heterogeneous Suburban Populations

These contemporary redistribution shifts render the city-suburb model less useful for distinguishing socioeconomic and demographic settlement patterns. The 1950s distinction between suburban populations oriented toward 'familism' and a more heterogeneous central-city population has broken down, as suburban populations have taken on much more of an 'urban' character. Particularly in the last three decades, the portions of metro areas lying outside their central cities have become markedly more heterogeneous in terms of age structure, racial-ethnic composition, social status and household type.

Of course, within this broad spatial category, one finds the usual clustering of population characteristics across smaller communities (Muller, 1981). Yet even these configurations do not conform to the kinds of distance-based or sectoral models that urban sociologists and geographers showed to be consistent with core-hinterland development in earlier times (Schnore, 1965; Hawley, 1971; Johnston, 1971). Detailed examinations of tract cluster variations on a range of 1980 population and housing characteristics, in selected metro areas, indicate that neither central-city/ring nor urbanized-area/ring dichotomies are ideal ways of distinguishing intrametropolitan differences (Treadway, 1990, 1991).

Indeed, the social geography of many settlement areas has now evolved to a situation where it is the central city rather than suburbia that is more homogeneous in its sociodemographic makeup. This characterization is most applicable to large older industrial central cities that have served, historically, as destinations for immigrants from abroad or the black rural-to-urban migrants. These central cities, whose physical configurations most closely approximate the classic model, have

been sustaining race- and class-based population declines for decades. As a result, these cities' social and demographic compositions are decidedly unrepresentative of the broader metro area.

An Alternative Classification of Subareas within Metro Areas

The evidence cited above argues for a classification scheme that recognizes analytically meaningful categories within the broad expanse of territory classed simply as 'noncity part of the metro areas' under the present statistical system. One approach is an 'extended suburban typology' that distinguishes employment centers from residential suburbs on the basis of their employment/residence ratios, and residential suburbs from low-density areas on the basis of their population sizes and densities (Speare, 1993; Frey and Speare 1995). This differentiates six community types, with definitions as follows:

1. *Major city* (referred to below as 'city'). The largest city; or pair of cities if the second city has at least 25,000 people and is at least one third of the population size of the largest city and is adjacent to it.
2. *Inner employment centers* (or 'inner center'). Places located within 10 miles of the center of the major city, either with at least 25,000 people and more people working in the place than living there, or with at least 10,000 people and more than 40 per cent of the resident workers working in the place.
3. *Outer employment centers* (or 'outer center'). Same criteria as 'inner center' apart from being located 10 miles or more from the center of the major city.
4. *Inner residential suburbs* (or 'inner suburb'). Areas located within 10 miles of the center of the major city, and with populations of 10,000 or more, that have densities of at least 1,000 per square mile but do not meet the criteria for 'inner center'.
5. *Outer residential suburbs* (or 'outer suburb'). Areas located 10 miles or more from the center of the major city, and with populations of 10,000 or more, that have densities of at least 1,000 per square mile but do not meet the criteria for 'outer center'.
6. *Low density areas*. Places with fewer than 1,000 persons per square mile, the residual parts of counties outside places of 10,000 or more, or whole counties with no places over 10,000 people.

The discriminatory power of this classification scheme can be demonstrated by an examination of population characteristics for the different types of suburban communities in selected metro areas. For this purpose, one metro is chosen from each of the three categories shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2: Los Angeles as the example of a High Immigration metro, Atlanta for the High Domestic Migration metro, and Detroit as the High Outmigration metro. In a sense, Los Angeles and Detroit represent two extremes. Los Angeles features the most ethnically diverse population in the US, high levels of immigration and a growth history that does not sharply distinguish between central city and suburbs. By contrast, Detroit is known to be one of the most racially segregated metropolitan areas in the country, with

sharp distinctions between a largely black central city and largely white suburbs (Frey and Farley, 1996). In between, Atlanta is an area gaining mostly from domestic migration and attracting large numbers of middle-class blacks. While an older city, which was also highly segregated, it has shown recent tendencies toward greater minority suburbanization and reduced neighborhood segregation.

The six zones of the extended suburban typology for these three metros are depicted in Figure 4.1. One feature of Los Angeles is its large number of outer centers and outer suburbs, representing the larger commuting fields in this low-density metro area. A distinguishing feature of Atlanta is that a large part of its population lies in the low-density category, reflecting its new outward spread from an initially concentrated inner-city area. Detroit, on the other hand, has a larger number of inner centers and inner suburbs than the other two, although there is also growth in its periphery.

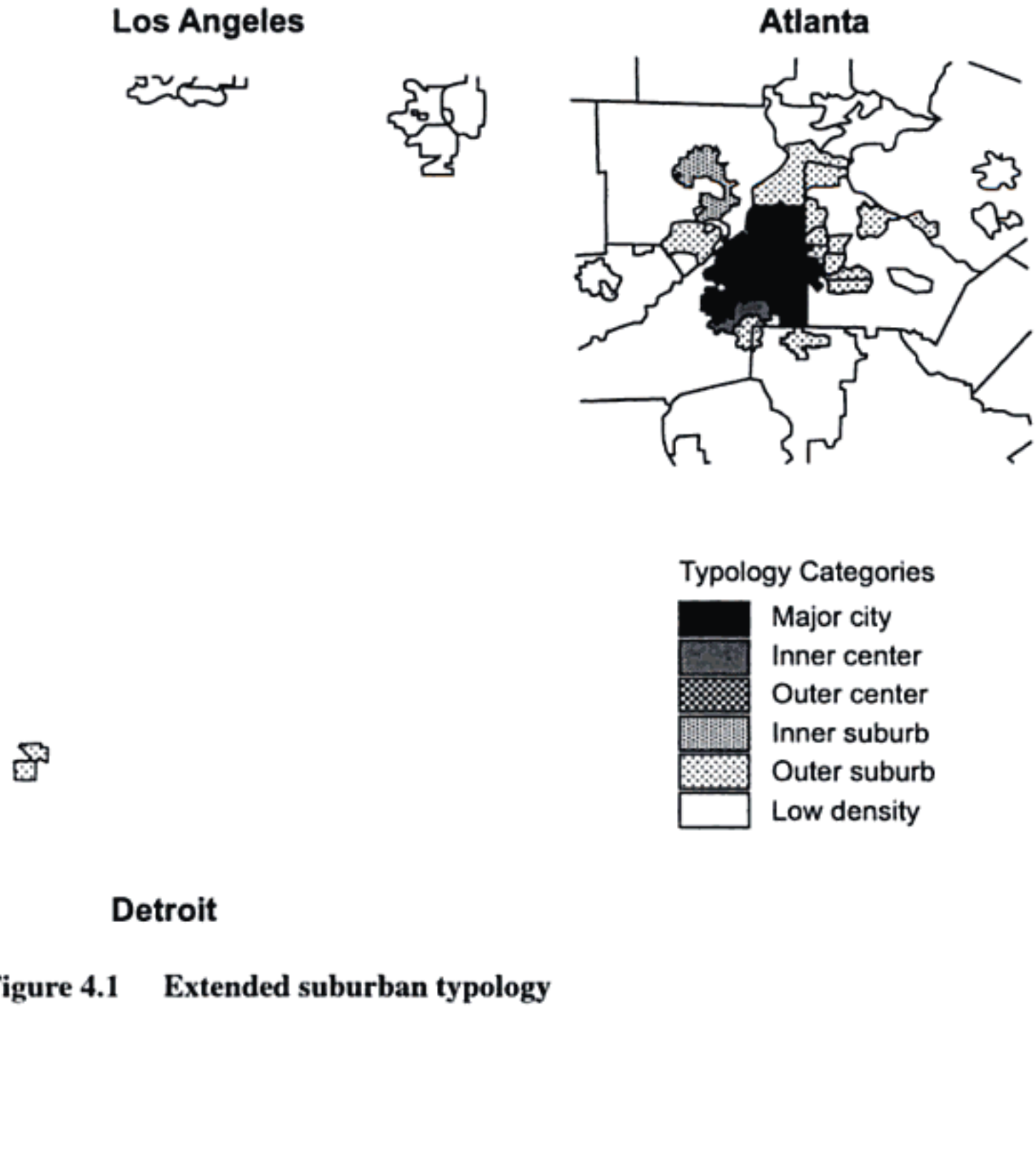

Figure 4.1 Extended suburban typology

Population Growth and Race Characteristics

Table 4.3 presents information on the relative growth and racial profiles for each zone of the metropolitan areas, using metropolitan CMSA and MSA definitions and data from the 1990 Census because the relevant data were not available from the 2000 Census at the time of writing. In general, for all three metros, it is the outer centers, outer suburbs, and low-density areas that show the highest rates of growth or, in the case of Detroit, lowest rate of decline. An important departure from this pattern is shown by Los Angeles' significant growth in its major city, with immigrants tending to reside there. Indeed, immigration contributed to all of Los Angeles' zones, especially in the outer centers and outer suburbs. In contrast, Atlanta showed population decline in its city and inner center, whereas its other zones all showed growth, with the highest rate of increase in the low-density zone. Detroit showed a decentralization pattern as well, but with negative metro-wide growth over the 1980-1990 period, there were declines in three of the five suburban zones. The strongest growth in Detroit is in its low-density zone, as well.

Table 4.3 Population change and immigration 1980-1990 and race-ethnic composition 1990: extended suburban typology of Los Angeles, Atlanta and Detroit

Metro/ Zone type	% change 1980-1990	% 1980-1990 immigration	Race-ethnic composition 1990 (%)			
			White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Los Angeles	26	18	50	8	32	9
City	18	25	37	13	39	9
Inner Center	3	11	72	4	17	7
Outer Center	24	18	49	9	32	10
Inner Suburb	0	11	66	24	7	3
Outer Suburb	27	16	51	5	33	10
Residual	60	9	69	5	21	4
Atlanta	33	3	70	26	2	2
City	-7	2	30	67	2	1
Inner Center	-8	2	31	66	2	1
Outer Center	24	3	66	29	2	1
Inner Suburb	5	4	58	37	3	2
Outer Suburb	26	4	88	7	2	3
Residual	52	3	79	17	2	2
Detroit	-2	1	76	21	2	1
City	-15	1	21	75	3	1
Inner Center	-9	3	90	7	1	1
Outer Center	-1	3	80	14	3	3
Inner Suburb	-8	2	89	7	2	1
Outer Suburb	1	1	92	4	2	1
Residual	12	1	94	3	1	1

Source: Author's analysis of US census data.

The race-ethnic data in Table 4.3 make plain that significant segregation does exist across suburban communities. Race-ethnic concentration is least evident in multiethnic Los Angeles. Significant Hispanic populations are found in all its zones except for the inner suburbs which have a high representation of blacks. Asians are also somewhat evenly distributed across these zones except for a lower percentage in the inner suburbs. The only black concentration – in the inner suburb zone – should not be interpreted as representing widespread integration, as in fact the only two inner suburbs are 87 and 3 per cent black respectively. Still, these minorities are more spread across suburban zones in this High Immigration metro than is the case for our examples of the other two metro types.

Both Atlanta and Detroit show more highly segregated race patterns where blacks are the dominant minority. Blacks in Atlanta are more widely spread, with high proportions extending beyond the major city across inner centers, outer centers and inner suburbs. Still, this is somewhat deceptive, for while blacks comprise 37 per cent of Atlanta's inner-suburb residents, the figure is over 70 per cent for three communities and less than 5 per cent for the other two. Meanwhile, consistent with other findings for High Outmigration metro areas (Frey and Farley, 1996), Detroit shows high levels of segregation where the plurality of African Americans live in the city of Detroit itself, with some additional concentrations in outer centers. The fact that the city of Detroit is only 21 per cent white, and four of the five suburban zone types are at least 89 per cent white indicates the very high level of segregation that still exists within this metro area.

Household and Socioeconomic Characteristics

From what has just been shown on the basis of this extended suburban typology, between-zone distinctions can also be expected on family and household attributes. In particular, outer suburbs and low-density areas contain communities that are largely residential and attractive to families, while cities and suburban employment centers should be more likely to house nonfamily households and less well-off female-headed families. As shown in Table 4.4, these distinctions are apparent for both Los Angeles and Atlanta, where the representation of married-couple-with-child families is highest at the periphery. In contrast, Detroit's main distinction is between the city and all of the other zones. The city of Detroit has a higher percentage of female-headed families than married-couple families. The remaining zones do not show very great distinctions except for the residual low-density zone where about one-third of the households are traditional families.

It is also apparent from Table 4.4 that the 'familism' of the suburbs transcends ethnic divisions. For instance, the black families that reside in Detroit's suburban zones are more likely to be traditional families, these outnumbering female-headed families by a particularly wide margin in low-density, residual areas. Similar city-suburb distinctions for blacks are evident for Los Angeles and Atlanta. The Hispanic population's family patterns tend to be more 'traditional' overall, but again for all three exemplar metros it is the outer suburbs and low-density areas that are the zones with the highest proportions of married-couple families.

Table 4.4 Total, black and Hispanic household composition: extended suburban typology of Los Angeles, Atlanta and Detroit

Metro/ Zone type	% of total households			% of black households		% of Hispanic households	
	H-W w/child	Female head w/child	Non-family	H-W w/child	Female head w/child	H-W w/child	Female head w/child
Los Angeles	27	6	30	18	16	43	10
City	22	7	37	12	15	39	11
Inner Center	16	4	48	11	12	31	9
Outer Center	26	7	31	20	19	44	10
Inner Suburb	7	2	67	16	4	13	4
Outer Suburb	32	6	24	25	17	45	10
Residual	31	6	24	28	15	47	9
Atlanta	27	7	29	21	18	36	6
City	11	14	44	11	22	19	8
Inner Center	19	13	33	22	20	22	16
Outer Center	17	8	42	17	19	27	8
Inner Suburb	18	7	42	22	18	31	3
Outer Suburb	23	4	33	19	16	33	3
Residual	33	6	24	29	16	42	6
Detroit	25	8	29	14	23	31	13
City	14	19	34	13	24	23	20
Inner Center	22	5	31	8	20	25	8
Outer Center	24	7	34	20	18	31	11
Inner Suburb	22	6	32	21	19	33	12
Outer Suburb	26	5	29	18	20	35	10
Residual	32	5	24	25	15	40	8

H-W, husband and wife; w/child, with one or more own children under 18 years old.

Source: Author's analysis of US census data.

Socioeconomic differentiation exhibits a similar pattern, with status generally lowest in the central city and highest in the outer suburbs and low-density areas according to the indicators presented in Table 4.5. This is somewhat less clearcut for educational attainment, because some zones contain universities and colleges and also because young singles associated with 'city lights' tend to be more highly educated than older cohorts in more wealthy communities. In Detroit, for example, the highest percentage of college graduates exists in the outer center, where the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor is located. As regards poverty and home ownership, there is a particularly clear distinction for Atlanta and Detroit between the city, on the one hand, and the outer two zones, on the other. Here the only significant departure is the relatively low level of owners in their outer centers. For Los Angeles, the picture is broadly similar, except for the low levels of poverty in its inner center and of owners in its inner suburbs and the high poverty level in its outer center.

Mean household incomes vary across zones, as well, with the distinction being sharper within Atlanta and Detroit than for Los Angeles (Table 4.5). In the former two areas, the highest incomes are reported in the outer suburbs and low-density zones and (in Detroit) the outer centers. In contrast, Los Angeles shows general

variability on this mean measure across zones with highest incomes in the inner center. Although the average incomes of each racial group differ from each other as discussed earlier, race and ethnic incomes vary across zones according to the pattern of the total population. Hence, the highest earning whites, blacks, Hispanics and Asians in Los Angeles reside in the inner center. One exception is the income of city whites in Los Angeles, who, unlike the other race and ethnic groups there, have incomes well above the metro mean. This anomaly is also the case in Atlanta where well-off whites live in the same zone as relatively low-income blacks.

Table 4.5 Socioeconomic attributes for race-ethnic groups, 1990: extended suburban typology of Los Angeles, Atlanta and Detroit

Metro/ Zone type	% college graduates	% in poverty	% owners	Mean household income ($1,000s) Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Los Angeles	19	15	54	48.1	54.9	33.9	34.8	49.8
City	20	22	39	45.7	60.3	29.0	29.5	41.9
Inner Center	33	9	40	59.4	62.9	40.4	41.0	60.7
Outer Center	19	16	51	45.9	50.8	34.6	35.0	48.6
Inner Suburb	37	10	32	42.0	39.6	54.0	34.0	49.7
Outer Suburb	18	12	61	50.1	55.3	39.4	38.0	54.4
Residual	17	12	70	49.2	51.9	39.0	36.8	59.7
Atlanta	27	10	62	45.0	50.4	28.8	40.7	43.9
City	26	27	43	37.9	62.3	22.3	37.7	31.9
Inner Center	18	17	50	32.1	32.2	31.6	45.0	50.0
Outer Center	23	17	36	32.7	37.1	21.0	24.1	31.3
Inner Suburb	30	12	50	38.5	43.3	29.2	31.9	32.9
Outer Suburb	44	5	62	66.3	69.5	32.4	51.8	55.2
Residual	25	7	69	46.2	48.7	34.2	42.4	46.1
Detroit	19	13	69	42.4	46.2	27.1	37.5	55.7
City	9	32	53	25.6	27.4	25.1	24.4	26.3
Inner Center	13	11	73	38.2	39.7	19.0	36.9	38.4
Outer Center	31	12	61	45.6	47.0	38.2	36.9	47.5
Inner Suburb	17	10	74	38.6	38.8	35.7	33.4	45.8
Outer Suburb	18	7	72	44.8	45.4	30.7	43.6	53.4
Residual	22	5	78	52.2	52.1	44.0	53.1	82.2

Source: Author's analysis of US census data.

This analysis of these three metro areas suggests that an extended suburban classification is necessary to reflect their evolving internal population patterns. This kind of framework, when melded with other important jurisdictional boundaries such as suburban school districts, can drive other studies of intra-suburban race and ethnic population change and migration, in a way that improves upon current studies which treat 'the suburbs' as an undifferentiated entity. At the same time, the findings point up certain distinctions in demographic characteristics

that can be linked to the different ways in which these exemplar metro areas are being affected by immigration and domestic migration flows.

The Metro-Nonmetro Dimension of the Evolving Demographic Dynamics

The other major aspect of the US settlement system that has changed in recent decades is the nature of the areas that lie outside metro areas, as currently defined. This territory is now less predominantly rural and more integrated into the national economy than was the case in the 1940s (Fuguitt *et al.*, 1989). Also, around 1970, residential and employment activities began to deconcentrate around many small and moderate-sized places, following a pattern that had previously existed only in metro areas. More recently, the concentrated clustering of immigration in certain metro areas has added a further impulse toward the deconcentration of the native-born population toward smaller metro areas and nonmetro territory (Champion, 1989, 1994; Long and DeAre, 1988; Frey and Speare, 1988, 1992; Fuguitt *et al.*, 1989; Johnson and Beale, 1995). These developments are affecting migration dynamics and population profiles in a way that further blurs the metro-nonmetro dimensions of the US settlement system.

Migration Dynamics in the Settlement System

Table 4.6 uses a nine-fold grid to examine immigration's differential impact across the settlement system and the extent to which domestic migration disperses across it. This grids crosses the three broad regions – North (combining Northeast and Midwest), South, and West – with a metro-status trichotomy comprising the High Immigration metros, all other metro areas and nonmetro territory. This confirms the point made earlier about the degree to which immigration is concentrated on a few port-of-entry areas. Nationally, 65 per cent of all the 1990s immigrants located in the nine High Immigration metros, which house less than 28 per cent of the total US population, with this source of population growth more than compensating for their high level of net loss through domestic migration.

In regional terms, were it not for attracting one-quarter of US immigration in the 1990s, the High Immigration metros in the North would have sustained overall population decline because their domestic migration loss was greater than their natural increase (Table 4.6). The even higher immigration rate of the West's High Immigration metros replaced their domestic migration losses almost exactly, and while those in the South recorded a small gain through domestic migration, again here immigration was by far the most important source of migration growth. In contrast, other metro areas in both the South and the West sustained greater growth from domestic migration than from immigration, and the nonmetro areas there even more so. This pattern is consistent with the scenario where domestic migrants are locating in less congested, lower-cost metros at the same time that immigration concentrates in a few larger metros.

Table 4.6 Demographic components of change by metropolitan status and region, 1990-1999

Region/ Metro status	% change 1990-1999 Total	IM	DM	NI	% share of US 2000 Pop	1990-1999 IM
United States						
High Immig metros	9.8	6.9	-5.7	8.6	27.7	65.1
Other metros	9.5	1.7	1.7	6.1	52.7	30.3
Nonmetro	7.1	0.7	3.4	3.0	19.7	4.6
North						
High Immig metros	5.1	6.4	-8.0	6.7	10.8	24.3
Other metros	3.8	1.2	-2.2	4.8	23.2	9.7
Nonmetro	3.8	0.3	1.4	2.1	8.0	0.9
South						
High Immig metros	15.2	6.1	0.3	8.8	7.6	14.7
Other metros	12.4	1.6	4.5	6.3	19.3	10.2
Nonmetro	7.6	0.6	4.1	2.9	8.8	1.8
West						
High Immig metros	10.8	8.2	-8.0	10.6	9.3	26.2
Other metros	18.1	3.4	5.5	9.2	10.2	10.4
Nonmetro	15.2	1.9	6.9	6.4	3.0	1.8

The two 'share' columns each sum to 100.0 for the US. IM International migration, DM Domestic migration, NI Natural increase, Pop population.

Source: Author's analysis of US Census Bureau County Estimates.

Race-Ethnic and Age Distinctions

The new immigrant minority groups are far more concentrated in the nation's nine High Immigration metros than the general population. The impact of this concentrated immigration is reflected in their race-ethnic compositions compared with other categories of areas in the settlement system. As shown in Table 4.7, nearly one-third of the population of the High Immigration metros, nationally, is comprised of Hispanics and Asians in contrast to less than 12 per cent of other metros and less than 7 per cent for nonmetro areas.

The patterns differ regionally such that all three categories in the West exhibit a greater Hispanic/Asian presence than those in the North and South (Table 4.7). This suggests some dispersal of the new immigrant minority groups away from the High Immigration metros in the West toward smaller places and some nonmetro counties. Recent findings from the US Census suggest this dispersal involves both recent immigrants to the US and the secondary migration of longer-term residents among the foreign-born (Frey, 2002). In the North and South, however, there is a sharp difference between the race-ethnic compositions of High Immigration metros and the other metros. Nonmetro areas in the North and South and other metro areas

in the South are over 90 per cent white/black. At the other extreme, barely half of the population of High Immigration metros in the West is white/black.

Table 4.7 2000 race-ethnic and age characteristics, and 1990-2000 changes, by metropolitan status and region

Region/ Metropolitan status	% Hispanics and Asians		% whites and blacks		% aged under 18		% aged 65 and over	
	2000	Change	2000	Change	2000	Change	2000	Change
United States	16.3	4.5	81.2	-6.2	25.7	0.1	12.4	-0.1
High Immigration	31.7	7.5	65.8	-9.5	26.2	1.4	10.9	-0.3
Other metros	11.8	3.8	85.8	-5.5	25.6	0.0	12.4	0.0
Nonmetro	6.5	2.0	90.4	-3.3	25.3	-1.5	14.7	-0.2
North								
High Immigration	23.7	6.1	74.0	-8.1	25.4	1.5	12.1	-0.5
Other metros	5.9	2.2	92.2	-3.7	25.2	0.2	13.0	0.1
Nonmetro	2.9	1.2	95.2	-2.3	24.9	-1.3	15.4	-0.1
South								
High Immigration	25.3	7.7	72.7	-9.3	26.6	1.1	9.9	-0.3
Other metros	12.0	3.7	86.1	-5.1	25.3	-0.2	12.4	0.0
Nonmetro	6.4	2.2	91.3	-3.3	25.0	-1.5	14.5	-0.2
West								
High Immigration	46.0	9.0	50.9	-11.5	26.9	1.5	10.4	0.1
Other metros	24.9	5.5	70.8	-8.4	26.9	-0.2	10.9	-0.1
Nonmetro	16.5	2.3	75.0	-4.7	27.2	-2.0	13.0	0.1

Change is percentage point change since 1990.

Source: Author's analysis of 1990 and 2000 US decennial census data.

The differences in age structure among the nine categories of the settlement system are less sharp than those for race and ethnicity (Table 4.7). The 'youngest' areas of the system include High Immigration metros in the South and West, along with the West's other metros and nonmetro areas. Nonmetro areas in each region have the highest shares of people aged 65 and over, resulting from their sustained outmigration of younger people and gains of retirees together with relatively little infusion of young immigrants.

In sum, this section has shown that immigration over the 1990s tended to be concentrated within the High Immigration metros, although there has been some dispersal of Hispanic/Asian people to other metropolitan and nonmetro areas, especially in the West. The 'other metro areas' in the South and West have also shown large gains in their white/black populations. As a result, there is a greater representation of immigrant groups in the High Immigration metros in all three regions.

Selective Population Gains in Nonmetropolitan Areas[3]

Nonmetro areas have experienced something of a roller coaster ride, since the 'rural renaissance' was identified in the 1970s, with their overall population growth rate falling back from 13.3 per cent then to only 2.6 per cent in the 1980s. With their overall rate bouncing back to 10.2 per cent for the 1990s, nonmetro growth has again become widespread, but there is much selectivity between types of area. In particular, there is a major contrast between nonmetro counties that are adjacent to metro areas and the rest, and retirement and recreation areas are also especially dynamic.

The importance of metro-area adjacency is clear from the 1990-1995 analysis shown in Table 4.8. Adjacent nonmetro counties saw growth as strong as metro areas at this time, more than 85 per cent of them gained population then, and their net migration gain exceeded that in metro areas by a substantial margin. Even among more remote nonmetro counties, recent population gains were much greater than during the 1980s. Growth occurred in 68 per cent of these counties in the early 1990s, compared to 36 per cent during the 1980s. Overall, these remoter counties recorded a further migration turnaround, with their net gain of 2.3 per cent for 1990-95 contrasting markedly with their net loss of 5.2 per cent for the 1980s.

Table 4.8 Population change, net migration and natural increase, by 1993 metropolitan status and adjacency, 1990-1995

	Nonmetro			Metro	Total US
	All	Nonadjacent	Adjacent		
Number of counties	2,304	1,297	1,007	837	3,141
Population 1990 (000s)	50,820	22,669	28,151	197,893	248,718
Population change					
000s	2,580	989	1,591	11,456	14,037
% change	5.1	4.4	5.7	5.8	5.6
% counties gaining	75.3	67.5	85.4	90.7	79.4
Net migration					
000s	1,555	529	1,026	2,873	4,429
% change	3.1	2.3	3.6	1.5	1.8
% counties gaining	66.8	59.4	76.4	73.7	68.6
Natural increase					
000s	1,025	460	565	8,583	9,608
% change	2.0	2.0	2.0	4.3	3.9
% counties gaining	74.3	67.2	83.4	96.3	80.1

Net migration combines international and domestic.

Source: Frey and Johnson (1996).

[3] Much of this section is taken from Frey and Johnson (1996), based on more extensive work by Johnson and Beale (1995).

The other categories of nonmetro counties that grew substantially were destinations for retirement-age migrants and centers of recreation. All 190 nonmetro counties classed as retirement destinations gained population and almost all had net inmigration between 1990 and 1995 (Table 4.9). Such areas are located in the Sunbelt, coastal regions, and parts of the West and in the Upper Great Lakes. They were attracting retirees, while retaining their existing population (Fuguitt and Heaton, 1993). Population gains also occurred then in 92 per cent of the 285 recreational counties, with a large majority receiving net inmigration. Such counties had been prominent growth nodes during the 1970s and 1980s and this trend clearly persisted in the early 1990s (Johnson and Beale, 1995).

Table 4.9 Population change, net migration and natural increase, by type of nonmetropolitan county, 1990-1995

Nonmetro county type	Number of counties	Population change % change	Population change % gaining	Net migration % change	Net migration % gaining	Natural increase % change	Natural increase % gaining
All non-metro	2304	5.1	75	3.1	67	2.0	74
Retirement	190	13.8	100	12.2	98	1.6	64
Federal lands	269	12.1	94	8.8	87	3.3	84
Recreational	285	9.7	92	7.6	88	2.2	79
Manufacturing	506	4.6	90	2.6	76	2.0	91
Commuting	381	6.9	90	5.0	85	1.9	83
Government	242	5.4	88	1.8	74	3.6	83
Service	323	7.3	85	5.6	76	1.7	74
Nonspecialized	484	5.2	81	3.7	75	1.5	74
Transfer	381	4.8	77	3.6	71	1.3	66
Poverty	535	4.3	75	1.6	60	2.7	83
Mining	146	2.7	64	0.4	53	2.3	82
Low density	407	5.9	54	2.8	46	3.1	64
Farming	556	3.2	50	1.6	46	1.6	54

1993 metropolitan definition. 14 previously metro counties are excluded. % change is aggregate change for all cases in category. % gaining is share of counties gaining population from the specified component. Recreational counties as defined by Johnson and Beale (1995). Low density counties contain fewer than six persons per square mile in 1990. All other types as defined by Cook and Mizer (1994). Each county is classified into one economic type (Farming, Mining, Manufacturing, Government, Service, Nonspecialized), but other types are not mutually exclusive.

Source: Frey and Johnson (1996).

What is noteworthy with the 1990s is that nonmetro population gains were also widespread in government-dependent counties and those with concentrations of manufacturing jobs. Evidence of increasing nonmetro diversification is reflected in the fact that much of the recent growth in these manufacturing counties appears to have been fueled by jobs in sectors other than manufacturing. While population

gains in manufacturing and government-dependent counties have been smaller than for recreational and retirement counties and have been more evenly balanced between natural increase and net migration, this diversification portends a longer-term growth prospects. Other county types with high growth rates fueled by net migration include those with a large proportion of their workforce commuting to jobs in other counties (including but not exclusively the metro-adjacent counties) and those with economies dominated by service-sector jobs.

At the other extreme on the ranking of nonmetro types by 1990-1995 population growth in Table 4.9 are counties dependent on farming. Only 50 per cent of these grew then and only 46 per cent had net inmigration. Natural decrease was also more common in farming-dependent counties than elsewhere. Population gains were more widespread in mining counties, but the magnitude of the gains was quite small. Migration gains occurred in only slightly over half of the mining counties. The smaller than average population gains and widespread out migration from mining and farming dependent counties of the early 1990s represents a continuation of the trends of the 1980s. Counties with histories of persistent poverty also had low growth rates during the early 1990s and, as in the case of the mining and farming counties, what growth there was came from natural increase.

On the whole, therefore, the greatest gains among nonmetro counties were largely due to their 'consumer' functions – as 'exurban' places of residence within close commuting distance of metro areas; or as places for retirement or recreation with high natural amenities. The sociodemographic attributes of these counties have more in common with metropolitan suburban populations than with slow-growing or declining counties with the more traditional rural 'production' functions of agriculture, mining, and manufacturing.

Conclusions

As with many developed countries, metropolitan and nonmetro areas in the United States have undergone significant morphological and demographic changes since 1950 when its system of metropolitan-area standards was instituted. Metropolitan growth has deconcentrated markedly within the older parts of the country, and has spread into less developed, less dense areas and regions. The outward, suburban, spread of more diverse population groups and economic activities has created the need for new settlement categories pertaining to new activity spaces and local labor market areas. Nonmetro areas have become more diversified economically and more fully integrated into the national economy.

Moreover, in recent decades the US and other developed countries have increasingly become destinations of large flows of 'South to North' international migration, and these flows have been directed primarily to only a subset of metropolitan areas. Within these new port-of-entry metro areas, the impact of immigrant populations is borne in both the city and suburban subareas. At the same time, the native-born population, led by new domestic migration flows, has been directed to different metro areas, tending to deconcentrate to smaller metros and to nonmetro areas.

As a result, with respect to spatial differences in demographic characteristics, an analogy can be drawn between the city-suburb dichotomy of the past and a new distinction between High Immigration metros and the rest of the settlement system. In the past, central cities were recipients of new immigrant groups as well as rural-to-urban migrants, while more assimilated urban and native-born groups advanced to the suburbs. Thus, the dichotomy between central city and suburb also represented a distinction between minority, foreign-born, and new inmigrant populations, on the one hand, and more middle-class native-born households on the other. In the present context, immigrant populations are directed to both cities and suburbs in port-of-entry metro areas, while the native-born and more assimilated minority populations are gravitating to different metropolitan and nonmetro areas. Hence the distinction between the High Immigration metros and the other metro-nonmetro categories also represents a distinction between different sets of population attributes.

Further, for each of these broad metropolitan contexts, demographic attributes vary considerably within metro areas. The extended suburban typology described earlier on the chapter, based on function, density and distance from city center, helps to delineate differences in demographic characteristics that were previously associated with 'urban' or 'suburban' parts of the metro area, but now distribute themselves in clusters across all parts of the area. While the overall demographic context of the metro area is becoming shaped by the macro migration forces of immigration and domestic migration, this typology provides a useful means of identifying homogenous population spaces within metro areas.

Finally, the analysis has shown that the sharp distinction that used to exist between metro and nonmetro areas, with respect to demographic attributes, has also become blurred as some nonmetro areas have become 'exurban' extensions to expanding metros and are taking on residential attributes that were previously associated with the suburbs. The growing leisure and 'footloose' retiree populations are also finding certain nonmetro areas attractive places to vacation or live, thereby also altering the more rural population characteristics of the past. At the same time, a larger number of still rural areas are losing their traditional economic bases, and house aging and declining populations that differ sharply from before. Between these extremes, there are growing nonmetro communities, also in attractive locales, which are gaining residents in new 'footloose' industries which are made possible by the telecommunications revolution.

These changes in demographic dynamics and metropolitan structure over the past 50 years would appear to render obsolete the correspondence between metropolitan area morphology, function, and demographic structure. Indeed, one proposal for altering the basis for metropolitan area definitions in the US called for ignoring both morphology and demographic characteristics, and delineating 'community areas' simply on the basis of function, using commuting clusters, as their basis of definition (Frey and Speare, 1995). While this approach may be a radical departure from the past, it does reflect the reality that settlement systems in twenty-first century postindustrial societies may no longer correspond closely to either physical form or demographic attributes. Some vestiges in the past, such as the extended suburban community typology proposed above, can be used to

maintain some semblance of the old correspondences. But there is a clear need to distinguish between separate functional aspects of the settlement system from its morphology and demography, in ways that can still be useful to planners, policymakers and scholars who need to focus on space-based demographic issues.